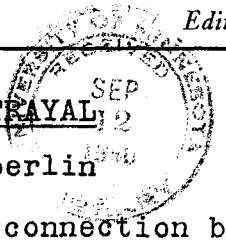
Human Events *A Weekly Analysis for the American Citizen*

Editorial Office 1710 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. *Telephone* NATIONAL 2066

VOL. VII, No. 34, *Issue Number* 343, AUGUST 23, 1950 ★ *Editor:* FRANK C. HANIGHEN



POLAND: THE GREAT BETRAYAL

by William Henry Chamberlin

There is a relentless unbroken line of connection between the appeasement of Stalin which was a cardinal policy of the Roosevelt Administration and the commitment of American troops to battle in Korea, under unfavorable logistical and geographical conditions, in 1950.

The most glaring example of this appeasement was Anglo-American acquiesence in the destruction of Poland's independence and territorial integrity at the Teheran and Yalta conferences and in the many intermediate diplomatic steps which made Teheran and Yalta possible. Now, as the eleventh anniversary of the beginning of World War II approaches, we should remember that the global conflict started with a German-Russian invasion of Poland.

One wonders what would have happened if the British Government, when it offered its guaranty against aggression to Poland in the spring of 1939, had added this warning:

> "You must understand that this guaranty is valid only against Germany. If the Soviet Government proposes to take almost half of your territory and to impose a Communist-dominated government on what is left of Poland you cannot count on our help. On the contrary, we will make no serious effort to prevent the Soviet Government from accomplishing these designs and will even support its case against yours."

One may also speculate as to how the Yugoslav Government of 1941, pushed and prodded by the Roosevelt Administration into entering an unequal struggle against Germany, would have reacted if some candid and farsighted American diplomat had said:

> "Your country will experience all the sufferings of foreign occupation. More than that, there will be a savage civil war. In this war the Moscow-trained Communist Josip Broz Tito will win the support of America and Great Britain. You and other Yugoslav non-Communist patriots will be lucky if you save your lives in exile or in obscurity at home."

And it would be interesting to know how the American people would have felt if some forthright spokesman for the Administration or the State Department in 1941 had said:

> "Our policy of inflexible support for Chiang Kai-shek's regime in China will almost certainly lead to war with Japan. This war will be prosecuted to the ruin of Japan and its destruction as a Great Power. But we will not worry about Soviet and Communist aggression against China. In fact we will bribe

Copyright 1950 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stalin, at China's expense, to join in our crusade against Japan. As late as 1945 high State Department officials will be giving Communist sympathizers access to confidential information. The upshot of all this will be that China will fall under the domination of Communists, disciples of Moscow, who will show the bitterest hostility to this country."

Such things were not said by people in positions of influence in the years of decision about America's entrance into the war. But they are a faithful record of what has happened, of what a reasonably intelligent student of foreign affairs might have expected to happen.

II

The betrayal of Poland was the greatest and most flagrant of the three, because the Second World War began ostensibly over the issue of Poland's independence and territorial integrity.

The Soviet Government, in fullest agreement and complicity with the Nazi dictatorship, set out to blot Poland forever from the map of Europe. The record on this point is unmistakably clear. The Soviet-German so-called nonaggression pact of August, 1939, was really a pact of mutual aggression against Poland. Its secret clauses, providing for a partition of Poland and for the inclusion of the Baltic republics in the Soviet share of the spoils, are now well known.

Molotov made the Soviet attitude plain when he declared at a session of the Soviet parliament on October 31, 1939: "Two swift blows to Poland, one from the German Army, the other from the Red Army, and nothing remained of the ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty."

Annexing and incorporating into the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics almost half of Poland's territory, inhabited by about one third of the Polish population, the Soviet Government tried to insure its position by familiar totalitarian methods. About a million and a quarter people were deported to the Soviet Union, the majority being sent to slave labor camps. When the Polish Government was able to investigate what had happened to these deportees, during the period of Soviet-Polish rapprochement which followed Hitler's invasion of Russia, it reached the conclusion that about a quarter had perished of hunger and maltreatment.

Especially sinister was the mysterious disappearance of some ten thousand Polish officer war prisoners. Letters from these men ceased abruptly in the spring of 1940. For almost two years Polish diplomatic representatives in Russia, furnished with detailed lists of names, sought vainly for information about what had become of these prisoners.

The case was repeatedly taken up with the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was brought to the attention of Stalin himself. At

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no time was it stated that the prison camp in which the officers were confined had been overrun and captured by the Germans. Only evasive and general replies were given.

This matter came to a head when the German radio announced that thousands of bodies of Polish officers had been discovered in the Katyn forest, near Smolensk, in western Russia. The Polish request that the matter be investigated by the International Red Cross was seized on by the Soviet Government as an excuse for breaking off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government. The virtual certainty that the Soviet authorities were responsible for this massacre of war prisoners was confirmed when the International Tribunal at Nuremberg, certainly not lenient in its attitude toward alleged war criminals, did not find Germans guilty of this atrocity.

III

From the time when relations were broken off with the generally recognized Polish government-in-exile in London, the Kremlin stepped up its pursuit of its two main objectives in Poland. The first was to retain almost all the Polish territory which had been acquired as a result of Stalin's deal with Hitler. The second was to prepare for the new Poland, mutilated in the East, artificially enlarged in the West by the addition of regions which were overwhelmingly German in ethnic composition, a made-in-Moscow government.

Both objectives were achieved with the acquiesence or, at most, the very weak opposition of Washington and London. When Anthony Eden, as British Foreign Minister, went to Moscow in December, 1941, he found Stalin inclined to demand the recognition of the annexation of Eastern Poland as the price of signing an Anglo-Soviet treaty of alliance. A firmly negative attitude on the part of the American State Department blocked acceptance of this demand at that time.

But the American attitude weakened, curiously enough, as the American military position grew stronger. Less is known about the Teheran conference, held at the end of November, 1943, than about Yalta. But the comment of a Polish diplomat of long experience in the United States holds true: "Our territorial integrity was sacrificed at Teheran, our national independence at Yalta."

Certainly Churchill launched a vigorous campaign, in parliamentary speeches and in private communications to the Polish government-in-exile, upholding Stalin's claim to the so-called Curzon Line frontier. The factually absurd argument was used that Russia had twice been invaded by Germany "through Poland" and was therefore entitled to "secu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rity". This overlooked the historical truth that at the time of the First World War most of Poland was part of the Russian Empire, while at the time of the Second World War, Poland's territory had been partitioned between Stalin and Hitler. In neither case was Poland in the slightest degree a partner in the German invasion of Russia.

IV

The Yalta conference, held in February, 1945, placed the final seal on the betrayal of Poland. No representative of Poland was present at this meeting. The Polish government-in-exile, the successor of the regime with which Great Britain had concluded a treaty of alliance, was treated as non-existent.

Stalin's territorial demands were accepted after one or two faint and unavailing pleas from Roosevelt and Churchill that the city of Lwow, culturally and ethnically Polish, and the oil wells of East Galicia should be left to Poland. The face-saving verbal assurances about "free unfettered elections" and about "reorganization" of the Communist-dominated puppet government which entered Poland in the baggage trains of the Red Army were proved empty frauds by the subsequent course of events, which led to the steady clamping down of a routine Communist dictatorship.

Apologists for the policy of appeasing Stalin which reached its climax at Yalta adopt two lines of argument. Some contend, like the late Edward Stettinius, that Yalta was really a great Western victory, because Stalin made a number of promises which he broke before the ink on the Yalta documents was dry. This is about as convincing as suggesting that a man achieved a great financial triumph by accepting a large sum in worthless checks.

Somewhat more intellectually respectable is the argument that America and Britain needed Soviet military aid and could not effectively restrain Stalin's moves in eastern Europe. This line of reasoning, however, overlooks the fact that the Soviet Union was more dependent for its own security on maintaining the coalition than was the United States. There was certainly no valid moral or political reason why the United States and Great Britain should have actively co-operated in the territorial mutilation of Poland and in recognizing a government that was a complete negation of Atlantic Charter principles and violently hostile to the West.

Today's headlines from Korea furnish eloquent, decisive proof that the wartime appeasement of Stalin was a practical failure as well as a confession of moral bankruptcy.

Quotation up to a paragraph is permitted with credit to HUMAN EVENTS. For reproduction or more extensive quotation address requests to HUMAN EVENTS, 1710 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Trial subscription, three months for $3. Six months, $5.50. One year, $10. Two years, $18. Domestic airmail (including APO and FPO) one year, $12.00; foreign (regular mail) one year, $11. Foreign airmail rates on request. Please remit in U.S.A. DOLLARS. Allow two weeks for new subscriptions or change of address to become effective.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.7 # 33 not published.

Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events Vol. VII, No. 34

By Frank C. Hanighen August 23, 1950

ACHESON EX MACHINA: Symptomatic of the increasing deterioration of the Democratic political situation is a well-founded report of one plan by which Democrats hope to retrieve lost ground before the elections.

Despite the Fair Dealers' efforts to make Secretary of Defense Johnson the scapegoat (thus providing a chance to replace him with a Frankfurter protege), the public stubbornly concentrates its ire on Secretary Acheson. The man who will not "turn his back on Alger Hiss" is a difficult patient for political rehabilitation.

Nevertheless -- according to our information -- a clique of Executive seat-warmers and friendly columnists and radio commentators have nourished a scheme which, by its very frailty, indicates the desperate search for a means of rescuing the Secretary of State from the consequences of his sins. The plan is this: Acheson will head the U.S. delegation to the UN in September and in that role will strike a pose of outraged defiance towards the Soviets, thus conclusively proving his anti-Sovietism. The trouble with this notion is that, while Acheson will as usual display his penchant for pretty academic wit and long hours of useless discussion, the public will be less impressed by his verbal capers than the columnists. There is evidence that the public wants very blunt speaking, not the discourses of "a slick lawyer" -- one of the less uncomplimentary terms which Members of Congress apply to the Secretary of State.

We learn from good sources that Mr. Bill Boyle, National Democratic Chairman, has not overlooked the rickety character of this crutch for Acheson and shows no enthusiasm. Indeed, some of his friends on the Hill, it is reported, have suggested that the only act which could save Acheson's role in the UN Assembly would be an all-out oration pleasing to Senator McCarran. By that, these Congressmen mean strong advocacy of lifting the UN ban on exchange of ambassadors with Madrid. These Congressional sources point to the overwhelming Senate vote for a loan to Spain, and assert that the recommendation will be approved by an even greater majority in the House; and that Truman dares not veto it. Unfortunately for the proposal to take a strong stand on the Spanish question in the UN, it is unlikely that the Left Wing Secretary of State can make a positive, unqualified plea in behalf of lifting the ban because of the bitter opposition of the CIO and AFofL.

* * * * *

TWILIGHT OF THE UN: It is a matter of grave doubt that the UN will be in shape to provide a popular sounding board for Acheson forensics. The descent of the prestige of that fraudulent international body is of roller-coaster variety. No one can overlook the popular indignation that other UN Powers have contributed no soldiers to help out troops in Korea. Also, not a few persons resent the official description of American boys as robots in a "United Nations force" under a UN flag; instead of earning their battle-scars under the honorable designation of "United States Army" and the banner of the stars and stripes. This spreading popular feeling derives nourishment from a growing bombardment not merely of the inadequacy of the UN, but of its very existence.

It is noteworthy that two prominent columnists, Dorothy Thompson and Frank Kent, who can by no manner of means be associated with "isolationism", are now attacking the UN in the most severe and injurious terms. Miss Thompson refers to it as a "fraudulent piece of goods", says that no one "who has listened to its debates

Copyright 1950 by Human Events, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can conceivably believe that it promotes peace"; and invokes the sovereignty of the American people against the dangerous internationalism of the UN.

Mr. Kent wants to kick the Soviets out of the UN. Kent recalls Mr. Herbert Hoover's proposal along that line. But there are those who know the former President and who say that Mr. Hoover made the proposal only as the first bite of a cherry; that Hoover knows full well that, with the veto, the Soviet cannot be ousted from the UN. If this report about Hoover is correct, it is obvious that the shrewd figure in the Waldorf Towers simply wants to prepare public opinion for the eventual, staggering discovery that the Soviets can't be kicked out and that the institution is per se a menace. With that realization, the whole preposterous edifice of the UN will come tottering to the ground, in the eyes of the victims of its publicity.

(In this connection, we naturally do not mean as "edifice", the huge skyscraper on the east side of New York. However, we would like to relay a report that municipal planner Bob Moses originally insisted that the blueprints for the UN building be so drawn that it could be easily converted into a commercial office building. It has often been remarked that Bob Moses is a farsighted man.)

* * * * *

FIFTH COLUMN IN CONGRESS: Edna Lonigan reports -- On the way back from the GOP regional conference in the Middle West, our plane approached Cedar Rapids at sunset. The prairie spread out before us with its pattern of farm houses, roads and fields. In the golden haze one could almost see the pioneers marching westward over the prairie, laying out their farms, and slowly transforming the raw earth into the rich land below us. It was easy to understand why a nation which had taken the wrong road, and turned to plunder instead of production, should want to destroy the nation which was the symbol of such peaceful productivity. But it was more impossible than ever to understand why people born in this land, nourished by its soil, should be willing to betray their country.

Of all the branches of the fifth column with which we shall have to deal in wartime, the most important is the fifth column in Congress. Our distorted libel laws forbid that we mention names unless we have a million dollars to collect legal proof. But we have our fifth column in Congress, as they had one in the Reichstag and still have one in the French Assembly and the Italian Parliament. The Soviet strategists know that if Congress is free, it will compel the Administration to clean house, and remove all subversives from the State Department, from the defense services, and from our representation in UN. But, if the fifth column is strong, it can impede Congress in every attempt to pass laws, make investigations, and clean out subversive officials. The Communists see this election as the critical time in which to strengthen their secret arm in Congress for the war years.

However, our impression, after talking to local Republican leaders, is that people still think of this as a familiar mid-term election, in which they are merely choosing sheriffs and Governors, or Congressmen as representatives of local sentiment. But we are not engaged in any sleepy mid-term election. We are in fact choosing representatives who should constitute a Congressional bastion to protect our people, throughout the war, from sabotage, stupidity and subversion. There has never been a more important Congressional election. We cannot afford this year to have one single district or one single Senate seat won by witting or unwitting agents of the Soviet fifth column.

* * * * *

THE WAR AND THE LEFT WING: Like the Ancient Mariner's albatross, the domestic Communist issue hangs about the Administration's neck. The situation is so contradictory that at times it almost, but not quite, baffles understanding. On the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one hand we have Left Wingers leaping from the Communist band wagon and rushing for cover -- Lee Pressman, for instance. On August 11 this erstwhile legal ornament of the New Deal (a recalcitrant witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee and often charged with Communist membership) resigned from the American Labor Party because its policies and political direction "reflect . . . the Communist Party". But, on the other hand, on August 15 we find the State Department in a turmoil as its legal people strive to draft a statement of Administration opposition to the pending anti-subversive bills (notably the Mundt-Ferguson measure). As if to underscore the Administration's equivocal position, counsel for the 11 convicted Communist leaders filed a petition the next day (August 16) with the Circuit Court of Appeals, asking for a rehearing on the ground that "to sanction the convictions under the First Amendment is to . . . make a mockery of the President's premises" -- referring to the Executive Message of August 8 which blasted (but not by name) the Mundt-Ferguson Bill.

Meantime the war, sometimes referred to as the Administration's desperate rejoinder to Senator McCarthy, has finally put the foreign policy issue before the country in such a glaring light that the Republicans must profit in the fall elections, whether they make the effort or not. Are there any GOP leaders who do not now welcome the end of the bipartisan policy? The August 13 statement of the four Republicans on the Foreign Relations Committee got a reply from Senator Connally, but the reply was doubly a flop because on August 14, Senator McCarran, himself a Democrat, delivered the most blistering attack yet heard on the State Department and the situation in the Orient. His references to "murderous political carpetbaggers" in China, "desk-bound intellectuals" in the State Department and "statesmanship at the level of the psychopathic ward" were so damning that the Acheson men have not yet found a rationalization that will serve for reply. One assumption may be made with some assurance: if the Republicans profit from this situation, it will be due to the death of bipartisanism in foreign policy.

* * * * *

OBITER DICTA: If we had any reservations about the depth of the country's feelings concerning the present international mess and the Administration's responsibility, they were removed by perusal of an editorial in the Department Store Economist, August issue. Trade papers, particularly in New York (a city regarded rightly or wrongly as lagging behind the rest of the country in today's crisis) do not usually deal editorially with foreign and defense policies with such savage criticism and, in this case, with such an unerring sense of political values. The piece, written by Editor D. Allyn Garber, reads in part, as follows:

"The question now is how to expose the paid traitors, get them out of the woodwork of our bureaucracies, businesses, schools and universities, our social life. They are far too powerful an influence to remain concealed. . . . We have the right and obligation to ask for answers to some long-unanswered questions. Who engineered the division of Korea and gave Russia the industrial half? Who put the jokers in the UN Charter that have given the Kremlin such an advantage? Who painted the conquest of Manchuria, then China, as merely a spontaneous agrarian revolt against land owners? Who delayed, sabotaged and effectively prevented the delivery of aid to the Chinese? . . . Who was and is behind the determined drive to smear MacArthur? The slimy trail leads back step by step.

"Who sold the Administration on the political nurturing of Reds within the Democratic Party -- permitted their infiltration into every echelon and bureau of Government? Who has so effectively prevented their exposure again and again? . . . We can only conclude that the one way to get the Communists out of Government and influence, while we still have a government, is to retire the current misleaders and rely on the many able men in Congress, of both political parties, who should take over now. This is no time for softness or protection of anyone."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Book Events

The Midterm Battle, by Louis H. Bean. Washington: Cantillon Books. $2.50 cloth, $1.00 paper. Reviewed by Walter Trohan.

A political prophet is not without dishonor, save in his own land of doubletalk and in his own party. The most honored political prognosticator in the Fair Deal is Louis H. Bean, a government economist for 27 years who is now economic adviser to Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan, the man with a plan. Mr. Bean has donned the mantle of prophecy in three books: Ballot Behavior, 1940, which was hardly a difficult year to predict the Presidential choice; How to Predict Elections, 1948; and the present volume, which "tells you how to predict the 1950 elections", in the words of Mr. Drew Pearson -- a Bean poll booster -- on the book's front jacket.

In the preface Mr. Pearson gives two instances of Bean wizardry. He says that at a time when few people (including Mr. Pearson and this reviewer) thought Harry S. Truman could possibly win the 1948 election, Bean wrote: "To begin with, numerous signs at the end of 1947 pointed to another Presidential year for the Democrats." The second instance is in another Bean quote: "The evidence is clear that the year 1947 will go down in our political history as marking the end of the downward trend in the New Deal tide and the beginning of a new one."

Both of these quotes are from How to Predict Elections, which was published July 12, 1948, the day the Democratic convention opened in Philadelphia. They would seem by themselves to predict Democratic victory. But let us look at the full context. Bean's line about tide is followed in his book by this very healthy limb: "What kind of tide would be initiated by the 1948 election, and what course it would take during the decade of the 1950s can only be tentatively suggested by the sketch of a typical two-party tide drawn from the past." And it is preceded by this even mightier limb of safety: "The developments of 1947 are not difficult to review briefly, but to anticipate the outcome of the 1948 election and the future trend is obviously a venturesome and hazardous undertaking."

When he gets riding his figures Mr. Bean finds numerous signs pointing "to another Presidential term for the Democrats", but he qualifies this prediction. He says: "all these indications prior to the Democratic troubles of early 1948 could be taken as pointing to victory for the Democratic candidate in 1948, with a popular vote of 54 to 55 per cent -- in a two-party contest". He notes that the "remarkable recovery of Democratic popularity was followed by an even more abrupt reversal in the first four months of 1948", and adds, "By April 1948 it was common to hear the Democratic party was going to pieces". Mr. Bean wrote that "if a third party enters the field" one result might be a Democratic Congress and a Republican President. The book left Mr. Bean in the enviable position of being able to predict anything.

On October 29, 1948, Columnist Peter Edson, reported Bean predicting that "the Democrats -- States' Rights and Regulars -- can only carry 13 states". And, on October 17, 1948, Mr. Drew Pearson, in a broadcast said Mr. Bean told him -- Dewey would get 27-1/2 million votes and Truman 24-1/2, and that Dewey would be elected by three million votes. Without doubt the Bean of October was not the Bean of May. The same might be said for Dr. George Gallup and Mr. Elmo Roper, who had Mr. Truman ahead early in 1948 and behind up to the election.

In The Midterm Battle we find the prophet half way up the old Bean poll. He says about the 1950 elections: "Even if this issue [the Communists in Government] does not become less prominent as the campaign develops, the President's personal campaign probably will put such charges in their proper perspective. The issue that might produce another 1946 has been recognized in time to be answered. If the Democrats do answer it, their chances are good." In short, the Democrats will win, if they don't lose, says the Bean oracle.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED